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1776. 1876.

Centennial Anniversary

OF

American Independence.

CELEBRATION

At Grand Rapids, Mich., July 4, 1876.

ILLUSTRATED.

GRAND RAPIDS, MICH:
LOOMIS & DILLENBACK, PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS.
1876.

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CIRCULAR.

In presenting this book, I desire to have it not only commend itself to you as a masterpiece of the "Art Preservative," but to subserve, in my interests, as an advertisement and specimen to those who desire

First Class Printing

Of any kind. I charge no **Special** *prices to make up for the superiority of my work, but many times furnish the* **Best** *printing at* **Lower Rates** *than is paid for second-class work elsewhere.*

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Including Supreme Court Records and Briefs, Office Stationery, Blanks, etc., the prices for which are the lowest in the City. I will be pleased to make them known to you at any time. Printing for professional men generally, executed promptly and in the neatest styles.

Very respectfully,

C. M. LOOMIS,

23 Monroe St., over Crawford's Grocery.

GRAND MEMORIAL ARCH, CAMPAU PLACE.

(Photo. by O. W. Hordon.)

The Centennial Celebration

The Centennial Celebration.

LESS than fifty years ago the primeval forests occupied the present site of the city of Grand Rapids, although from time immemorial they had sheltered the tents of an Ottawa village, whose painted warriors have left but a few feeble and fast fading traditions of their battles and councils, triumphs and defeats. There is a tradition that a French trader, named LaFromboise, built a cabin here in 1806, of which Mr. Richard Godfroy has this year, from descriptions derived in 1834 from the Indian chiefs, Black Skin and Noonday, erected a fac simile in the park. The Rev. L. Slater, a Baptist missionary, established a mission here in 1824, and in 1826, Louis Campau, who will be known in history as the founder of the city, came here to establish a trading post and make for himself a home. A government land office was opened for this district in 1833, and in that year the first real settlement at Grand Rapids began, since which time the beautiful rapids of Grand River have become surrounded by a flourishing and rapidly increasing city of thirty thousand inhabitants, so complete in all its appointments of schools, churches, paved and graveled streets, waterworks, gas, manufactories, stores and shops, as to challenge the surprise and admiration of every visitor, while its architecture, as may be seen from the engravings in this work, surpasses that of many older cities. In such a city, instinct only with the life of the present and the promise of the future, a hundred years seems like remote antiquity, ante-dating even the formation of the great State of which we are a part, and which itself

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is but a younger brother in the great family of States. Being a people thus accustomed to looking only to the future, the beauty and extent of our memorial celebration well deserves to be pictured by the photographer and the engraver and commemorated by the pen of the historian. Nor is such a task beneath the dignity of any historical writer. How vividly would the faithful description of a national holiday in some Roman city reveal the great republic of ancient times. And thus, to strangers and to future years, will the record of our centennial celebration manifest the city of Grand Rapids as it now exists.

GRAND RAPIDS IN 1832—VIEW FROM PRESENT SITE OF CAMPAU PLACE.

At the very beginning of the Centennial year, the movement for an appropriate public celebration was fittingly inaugurated by the Mayor, who is also an old resident and distinguished citizen. The following message was submitted to the Common Council:

MAYOR'S OFFICE, GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.,
JANUARY 17, 1876.

Gentlemen of the Council:

One hundred years ago, on the fourth day of July next, the founders of our government declared that the then thirteen feeble colonies of three millions of people, "are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States." Subsequently they adopted the constitution under which, with such modifications as time and

experience have indicated, we have grown to be a nation of forty millions of people, with thirty-seven States and ten Territories. The Fourth of July, since 1776, has been the nation's holiday, and we trust it will ever be such.

The present, being our centennial year, it would seem that the approaching anniversary of American Independence should be observed with more than ordinary fervor; and as citizens of a city—the second in wealth, population and importance in the State—holding a prominent position in the western part of our commonwealth, would it not be proper for us to initiate, and the citizens to organize for a grand celebration, one that will be sufficiently attractive to command the attention of the country for at least one hundred miles around! The people of the city and towns in Kent county might with great propriety join and do a very handsome and patriotic thing, and inaugurate a good old-fashioned celebration; one that would long be remembered by our children with gratitude and patriotic pride. It is hardly to be supposed that any of your body will be present at the *next* centennial, and so it behooves us to make the most of *this one.* If the suggestion herein made should meet your approbation, a committee might be appointed to consist of four members of the Council, and twelve citizens, not members, who could take into consideration, and report to the Council, or to a public meeting hereafter to be called, a plan in detail for a celebration, if in their judgment it should seem desirable to have such,

P. R. L. PEIRCE, Mayor.

Thereupon, Alderman Kendall offered the following preamble and resolution, which were adopted:

Whereas, It is fit and proper that the citizens of Grand Rapids should celebrate the centennial anniversary of American Independence, and that timely preparations should be made therefor: therefore

Resolved, that a committee of sixteen, of whom the Mayor shall be chairman, be now appointed by His Honor the Mayor, four of whom shall be appointed from the aldermen of the said city, and the remaining twelve from the citizens of said city, whose duty it shall be to consider the subject hereof and report to the next or some future session of the Council the result of their deliberations; and also to report whether, in their judgment, it would be advisable to call a public meeting to make arrangements for said celebration, or whether it would be advisable for the Counsel to appoint a general committee for that purpose.—Adopted.

The mayor announced the committee as follows;

Committee from Council—Ald. Kendall, Saunders, Dishman, Calkins.

Citizens—Col. I. E. Messmore, Hon. L. H. Randall, Hon. Henry Fralick, Jos. Penney, Esq., Hon. J. P. Atwood, Gen. B. R. Pierce, Hon. Julius Houseman, John Clancy, Esq., Col. P. V. Fox, Judge B. A. Harlan, Col. Thaddeus Foote, William Hovey, Esq.

On the 6th of March the above named committee of sixteen submitted a report to the Common Council, recommending a celebration worthy of the day and the country, to be shared in by all the people of Kent county, and further recommending that the details of such celebration be entrusted to a committee of thirty-

three representative men, with the mayor for Chairman, with full power to act in the premises. The report was accepted and the following committee appointed:

The Mayor of the City, *Ex-Officio* Chairman; Hon. Henry Fralick, Hon. E. G. D. Holden, Col. P. V. Fox, Capt. J. D. Robinson, A. V. Pantlind, Col. I. E. Messmore, Hon. B. A. Harlan, A. R. Antisdel, Leonard Covell, George G. Steketee, William H. Powers, Ald. Charles W. Calkins, Eben Smith, Col. T. Foote, Ald. B. C. Saunders, Oscar Davidson, John Widdicomb, Ald. Peter Weirich, Charles H. Perkins, Henry Bremer, Z. Bonney, T. F. Pickering, J. Mason Reynolds, Joseph Penney, Reuben H. Smith, Henry C. Levi, Hon. J. P. Atwood, Hon. R. P. Sinclair, J. K. Johnston, Hon. Julius Houseman, Thomas W. Hart, A. W. Selleck, John Perry.

Ald. C. W. Calkins was elected Secretary, and Henry Bremer, Treasurer.

A meeting of the committee was soon called and sub-committees appointed:

1. Finance—P. V. Fox, A. R. Antisdel, Peter Weirich, B. C. Saunders, Henry Fralick.

2. Orator or Speakers—I. E. Messmore, B. A. Harlan, Geo. G. Briggs, J. P. Atwood, Joseph Berles.

3. Order of Exercises—Joseph Penney, A. V. Pantlind, T. Foote, W. H. Powers, J. Houseman.

4. Amusements—J. Mason Reynolds, C. H. Perkins, T. F. Pickering, John Perry, R. P. Sinclair.

5. Invitations—Julius Houseman, J. K. Johnston, R. H. Smith, Thomas H. Hart, John Widdicomb.

6. Music—B. A. Harlan, J. D. Robinson, L. Covell, G. G. Steketee, T. H. Hart.

7. On Salutes—J. D. Robinson, Oscar Davidson, R. P. Sinclair, A. W. Sellick, I. E. Messmore.

8. On Toasts and Responses—J. P. Atwood, Eben Smith, J. Mason Reynolds, E. G. D. Holden, C. W. Calkins.

9. Decorations—C. H. Perkins, Col. P. V. Fox, Col. Joseph Penney, R. H. Smith, W. H. Powers.

From this time forward the committee met every Saturday night, and sometimes oftener, at the Common Council rooms, until the Fourth day of July.

The following named gentlemen were elected officers of the day:

Hon. P. R. L. Peirce, President; Hon. Thomas B. Church, Orator; Hon. Chas. H. Taylor, Reader; Rev. Danforth L. Eaton, Chaplain; Gen. Byron R. Pierce, Chief Marshal.

Vice Presidents—First ward, Wright L. Coffinberry; second ward, John Clancy; third ward, Hon. S. L. Withey; fourth ward, Capt. J. A. S. Verdier; fifth ward, C. C. Comstock; sixth ward, Billius Stocking; seventh ward, Lewis Martin; eighth ward, Geo. W. Gay. Grand Rapids Township, Foster Tucker.

Asst. Marshals—First ward, John FitzGerald; second ward, S. H. Ballard, third

ward, Ed. B. Dikeman; fourth ward, Christopher Kusterer; fifth ward, James Gibb; sixth ward, John Widdicomb; seventh ward, B. F. Parmenter; eighth ward, H. L. Covell. Grand Rapids Township, Geo. E. Judd.

In addition to the above named officers one vice president and one assistant marshal were selected from each of the twenty-four townships in Kent county, but as only one township, Grand Rapids, was present as an organization, the names of their officers are omitted, though most of them were present at the celebration.

The programme was well advertised in the four daily and seven weekly newspapers published in the city, and by posters and circulars sent all over the county. Thus while no excitement was manifested and everything moved forward quietly as usual, a deepseated feeling of the importance of the occasion prevaded every breast, ready to manifest itself when the proper time arrived.

The finance committee went about their work with a will and large subscriptions were received. At last, when public curiosity was fully aroused, the committee on decorations, Col. Joseph Penney, acting chairman, commenced to make visible progress, and an immense arch began to arise in Campau Place, while at the same time Col. E. S. Pierce began to decorate his fine business block with evergreens and flags. Although this was done only a few days before the Fourth, the example seemed contagious, and block after block, store after store, factory after factory, and dwelling after dwelling blossomed out in bright adornments, each new display still further arousing the popular enthusiasm, till the coming celebration almost banished every other topic of thought and conversation. On the third of July the city bore the appearance of some great gala day. Forepaugh's immense caravan and circus passed through the streets in the morning, attracting thousand of spectators, and those who had not already decorated their buildings began anxiously, at the eleventh hour, to search for bunting, greens, and drapery that were then hardly to be found. A great number of large flags on high staffs surmounted the hotels and principal blocks, and an immense piece of bunting streamed from the liberty pole in the park, announcing to all comers, while yet miles from the city, the spirit of the hour.

THE CELEBRATION.

There was little sleep on the night of the third. It seemed as though two relays of "Young America" had conspired to make the night vocal with every instrument of noise and discord, from sunset till midnight and from midnight to the grand culmination of sound at sunrise. At sunrise the artillery broke in with a national salute of thirteen guns, the bells in the steeples wakened to merry peals, the whistles of the factories, locomotives and steamboats joined with their iron throats in the awful chorus, while an undertone of pistols, fire crackers and lesser

instruments of sound still further confused the ear. Soon after sunrise a soft, sprinkling rain began and continued till eight o'clock a. m., doing no harm and effectually laying the dust for the entire day, which could not have been more auspicious.

The various lines of railroad, leading into the city from eight different directions, brought passengers at half fare or less, and as one after another the long trains came rushing into the depots, with locomotives bearing flags and other decorations, the crowd upon the streets grew denser, till in some places they overflowed the sidewalks and almost filled the entire street, especially near Campau Place and the grand arch. On every street entering the city poured down a long procession of wagons and carriages from the surrounding country.

At 10:30 a. m. General Byron R. Pierce moved the grand procession on the following line of march:

Across Pearl street bridge to Front street, on Front to Shawmut, on Shawmut to Summer, on Summer to Bridge, on Bridge to Canal, on Canal to Monroe, on Monroe to Fulton, on Fulton to Sheldon, on Sheldon to Cherry, on Cherry to Jefferson avenue, on Jefferson avenue to Fulton, on Fulton to Ransom, and from Ransom to Park street.

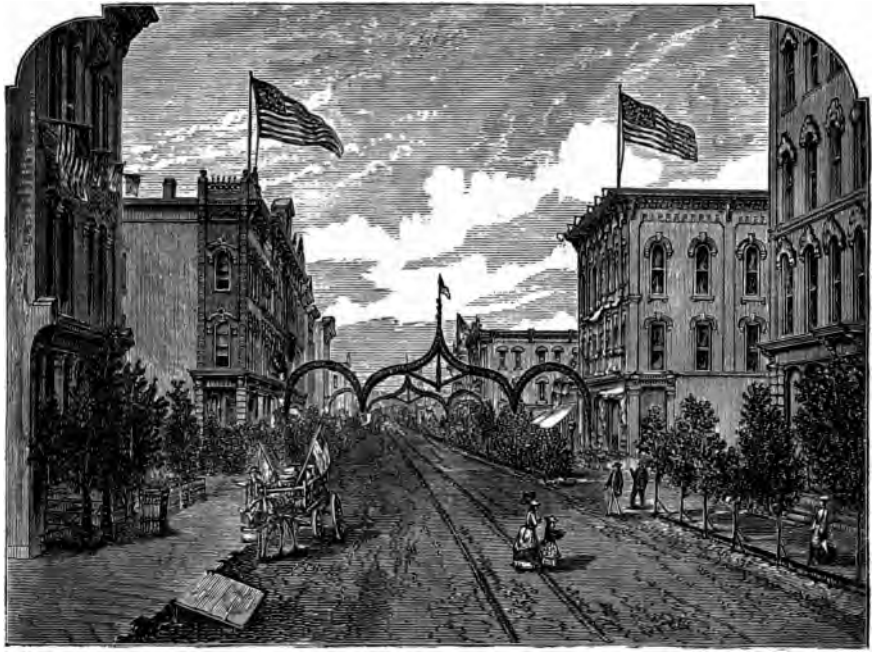
The procession formed on Canal and Pearl streets: The First Division on Canal with the right resting on Lyon, and the Second on Pearl with the right resting at Campau Place, and was formed in the following order:

A detachment of Police, whose presence helped to clear the way, and whose appearance was in every way creditable to the city.

The Chief Marshal, General Byron R. Pierce, and staff, on horseback, the Assistant Marshals wearing blue, and the Aids red sashes, and rosettes. The Aids were as follow: Col. Geo. G. Briggs, Chief of staff; Capt. H. N. Moore, commanding Second Division; Frank W. Foster, E. O. Stevens, W. T. Lamoreaux, E. E. Judd, H. L. Covell, B. F. Parmenter, Washington Davis, Wm. O'Connor, N. B. Scribner, Oscar Davidson, W. F. Kelso, Isaac Sigler, E. Crofton Fox, Henry Hughenott, Chas. Hadden, H. Hanish, F. J. Greulich, Chas. Scheufler, Geo. Gray, Jr., Ed. B. Dikeman, F. S. Milmine, C. B. Hinsdill, C. Kusterer, M. J. Chapman, E. A. Weatherly, Boyd Pantlind, Fred Smith, E. Plumb, D. Emery, J. A. S. Verdier, Oliver S. Waters, L. V. Dean, Maurice Stack, Chas. F. Sargeant, Edward J. Reynolds.

The Knight Templar band, nineteen in number, in full uniform, playing patriotic airs.

The Grand Rapids Guards, sixty strong, in handsome uniform with glistening bayonets, preceded by their drum corps.



WEST BRIDGE STREET, LOOKING WEST FROM THE BRIDGE, SHOWING THE DISTRICT REBUILT SINCE THE GREAT FIRE OF JUNE 19, 1875.

(Photo. by L. V. Moulton.)

Uncle Sam and suite, consisting of an impersonation of the traditional Uncle Sam, in striped pants, red, white and blue neck-tie, and tall white hat, seated in a fine open carriage drawn by six horses with postillions, and preceded by a Continental of gigantic size, six feet and five inches in height, assisted by two smaller Continentals, bearing an immense banner on which was a picture representing Uncle Sam on his 100th birthday, the typical Uncle Sam, Colossal in size, standing in the center with the Constitution held firmly in his right hand, and a liberty cap on a staff protruding from one of his pockets. Beyond him could be seen the dome of the national capitol, above which, in the clouds appeared a vision of many bells wildly ringing, as though the unseen world took part in the rejoicings. Beyond, and separated by an expanse of sea, rose the British Isles. Around his feet the nations joined in a lively dance, "all hands round," in honor of the day, unobserved by Uncle Sam who sublimely contemplates the past. The eye quickly recognizes the popular and comical representation of England, France, Germany, Austria, Spain, Russia, Mexico, China, Japan, Turkey, Italy, etc. Behind Uncle Sam's carriage was an escort of Continental officers on horseback, and well accoutred, the uniforms being procured from Ward & Co., Chicago. Uncle Sam was represented by Lowell Hall. Esq., and C. E. Renwick acted as standard bearer. The mounted escort were Ed. P. Chamberlin, Will H. Fowler, P. Graff, Jr., S. H. Ballard, H. M. Baker, A. McDonell, J. W. Drew, Sherwood Hall, O. C. Ransom, J. J. Closs, L. D. Follett.

The various organizations of Odd Fellows came next, in the regalia of the order, and were one of the most important features of the procession: Encampment No. 43, I. O. O. F.; Grand Rapids Lodge No. 11, I. O. O. F.; Enterprise Lodge No. 212, I. O. O. F.; Walhalla Lodge No. 240, I. O. O. F.; West Side Lodge No. 250, I. O. O. F.; Hine Lodge No. 335, I. O. O. F.

Following were the carriages containing the officers of the day and Common Council.

The Grand Rapids Fire Brigade under General I. C. Smith, Chief Engineer. The brigade consists of sixty-five men, who man three steam fire engines, two Champion Extinguishers, six hose carts, one hook and ladder truck, and one supply wagon. The engines and apparatus were polished till the brass and copper shone like mirrors, and the whole was decorated with flags and streamers, wreaths of evergreens and flowers, in fine taste and in lavish profusion. It is evident that the firemen are popular with the ladies, who assisted them in trimming the engines, rendering them marvels of beauty. Their reception by the crowd also proves the popularity of the Fire Department with the entire community.

Next came a company of horsemen from the township of Grand Rapids, under command of Capt. Geo. E. Judd.

Following were two wagons bearing the elegant banners of the Phœnix Furniture Company, and carrying the Ætna and Yates base ball clubs of Grand Rapids. One of the banners is of heavy drab silk, worth one hundred dollars, and bearing the legend: "Our Motto, Strength and Beauty."

The Second Division was as follows: The Germania band, in fine uniform eighteen in number, discoursing eloquent music.

The Centennial Guards, fifty strong, in a beautiful uniform of gray.

Rev. J. P. McManus and visiting clergymen in carriages.

Three large wagons containing the sodality of the Holy Angels, consisting of sixty young girls dressed in white with purple sashes bearing the legend "Holy Angels."

St. Andrews total abstinence society, on foot, with new purple regalia worn for the first time on this occasion.

The Temperance Cadets composed of young boys, about thirty in number, in regalia.

The sodality of the "Children of Mary," under the patronage of St. Patrick's Catholic Benevolent Society, in two wagons each drawn by four horses.

St. Patricks Catholic Benevolent Society of St. Andrew's church, 100 strong, on foot.

Rev. J. C. Pulcher and J. G. Ehrenstrasser in carriages.

St. Patrick's Society of St. James' Church, fifty strong.

St. James' Parish School, of boys, on foot.

St. Mary's Parish School, of girls, on foot.

St. Joseph's Benevolent Society, seventy-five strong, on foot.

St. Adelbertus' Society, forty-five strong, on foot.

Caledonian Club displaying a new and elegant banner, and led by a Highland Piper in uniform.

Pioneer Lodge, United Sons of Industry.

Lincoln Lodge, number 10, (colored,) U. S. of I.

Workingmen's Aid Society.

German TurnVerein Society.

Holland Mutual Aid Society.

Harmonia Society.

Scandinavian Workingmen's Society.

Closing the procession, were four trade displays that attracted much attention and proved that this feature, if carried much further would have met with public approval. Those represented were L. J. Rindge & Co., boot and shoe manufacturers, with a large number of hands at work; C. D. Rose & Co., steam dyers, who presented a dying establishment in full operation; W. Voss, saddler and harness maker, with his shop on wheels in full blast, and Loomis & Dillenback, job printers, who had a Gordon power press on a tastefully decorated wagon, busily printing colored "flyers" advertising this record.

The artillery fired minute guns while the procession was in progress.

Arrived at the park, the procession disbanded, and the officers proceeded to the grand stand. Music was furnished by the brass bands, and a glee club consisting of the following named gentlemen and ladies: Edmund Bement, D. R. Utley, H. G. Holt, Francis O'Brien, Mrs. Verdier, Miss Dunn, Miss D'Ooge and Miss Martindale. Prof. Zoberbier played the organ accompaniment.

Mayor Pierce introduced "Uncle Sam," (Lowell Hall, Esq.,) in his usual pertinent and racy style, and that dignitary, in full costume, thus addressed the people amid frequent applause:

"My numerous and dearly beloved children—Through the partiality of your committee I have the honor to represent and personate a nation born a hundred years ago to-day, and by the blessing of God I stand before you, hale and hearty, a member of that generation which gave this nation its birth. I was christened at my birth "United States of America," but through most of my long life I have been called Uncle Sam for short. And in the name of Uncle Sam I welcome you to the blessings, the privileges, the joys and festivities that this day commemorates. And as through the virtue, intelligence, patriotism and the solemn pledge of their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honors, these have been bequeathed to you by the fathers through a century of years, so I charge you, my dear children, that, by your virtue, intelligence, patriotism, love of liberty, and by all held sacred among men, you transmit these blessings unimpaired through succeeding generations down to the very latest posterity—

> "And the eagle shall bless this our native clime
> Till the archangel's flat is fixed upon time."

The following programme was carried out:

Music by the Band.
Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. Danforth L. Eaton.
Vocal Music—Glee Club—"A Hundred Years Ago."
Reading the Declaration of Independance—Hon. Charles H. Taylor.
Vocal Music—Glee Club—"Our Century of Freedom."
Oration—Hon. Thomas B. Church.

Vocal Music—Glee Club—"The Star Spangled Banner"—Chorus by the band and people.

ORATION.

Fellow Citizens:

The Declaration of Independence, to the reading of which you have just listened, and the one hundredth anniversary of which we have assembled to commemorate, was at once the *cause* and *catastrophe* of that great drama—the North American Revolution—whose "swelling scenes" were the dismemberment of the British Empire and the establishment of Confederative Republican Institutions on this Western Continent.

Has an event which is the corner-stone of our National history lost its interest in the minds of men? Are the necessities that led to it, the processes reaching this grand result, now generally and familiarly known and understood? Have our magnificent progress, our unprecedented successes in arts and arms, in statesmanship and war, partially obliterated this primal and seminal transaction from the American memory? Do we all, often enough, recur to the era of the Revolution; investigate its history and imbue our hearts and intellects with its patriotism and its wisdom?

How many of our young men, claiming to be intelligent; how many of our lawyers, claiming to be learned, can tell what were the *writs of assistance*, in opposition to which James Otis made Faneuil Hall and the town meetings vocal with his fiery declamation; who were the *mandamus* counsellors against whose authority the Provincial Congresses protested; and why the tax on tea led to the death of Warren at Bunker Hill, as the charge of ship money had before to the death of Hampden on the Plain of Chalgrave.

Let us on this Centennial festival day of the Nation consider these things. Let us here and now evoke the spirit of *that time* and those men. Let us contemplate the elements of their unequaled civic character! Standing almost in the "visible presence" of those statesmen and warriors of the ancient Republic and before

> "That awful memory
> Which Washington hath left,
> A light for after times,"

we may realize the perils of the past, the responsibilities of the present and the hopes of the future!

There are three stages or periods in the history of the North American Revolution:

The first commences with the orders and laws of the British Parliament, designed to enforce the Navigation Act of 1660, and terminates in the Declaration of Independence unanimously passed and published by the Congress of the thirteen American colonies in Philadelphia, July 4, 1776. This first stage embraces the struggle for the preservation of the ancient liberties of those colonies; issuing in a civil war, the causes of which, in part, and the objects of which, are exhibited in the said Declaration.

The second stage consists of the War of Independence, which began fifteen

months after the declaration and was closed by the treaty of peace, negotiated at Paris November 30, 1783.

The third stage was the establishment of the Federal Constitution, what is commonly denominated our "General Government." The convocation of the first Continental Congress, in Philadelphia in September, 1774, and the assembly of the First Congress under the present Federal Constitution in New York, on the 4th of March, 1789, comprise the beginning and the end of the last, and perhaps the most important, stage of the great North American Revolution.

The War of Independence, we say, was preceded by a Contest of Principle; a struggle for the preservation of the ancient liberties of the Colonies, induced, developed and matured into "overt acts" of resistance by the attempt of the British Government to monopolize the commerce of the Colonies and to burthen them with taxation by acts of Parliament, and this stage of the North American Revolution we will more particularly consider.

In the year 1660, during the session of the famous Long Parliament, the Act of Navigation was passed; which, embodying and enlarging the provisions of its predecessor and precedent—the act of 1651—was designed to secure to Great Britain the whole trade of the plantations. It provided amongst other things, that none but English ships should transport American produce over the ocean, and that the principal articles of that produce should be sold in the markets of the Mother Country only. In 1663 it was further enacted that such commodities as the colonies wished to purchase should be purchased within the same markets, and severe rules were prescribed to enforce these laws during the Protectorate of Cromwell and the subsequent reigns. Thus, to tie up the commerce of the colonies for the exclusive advantage of England, was the intent and operation of twenty-nine Acts of Parliament, from 1660 to 1764, forming what Mr. Burke expressively denominated "an infinite variety of paper chains to bind together your complicated system of colonial legislation." But this legislation was based on commercial policy alone —policy shaped for a commercial monopoly—and its restrictive features were designed, doubtless, to make the colonies contribute in their proportion to the strength and unity of the empire. The vast interests ultimately to be affected and the vast pecuniary revenues thus to be indirectly secured to England, were probably never contemplated by the early legislators on the subject. America was then (again to quote the graphic language of Mr. Burke) "a little speck scarce visible in the mass of National interests; a small seminal principle rather than a formed body;" and its astonishing growth and development, for a half century, seemed to an incredulous House, when the orator portrayed its progress, rather as the coloring of his own fervid imagination than a narrative of authentic facts.

"Nothing in the history of mankind," says he, "is like their progress. When I cast my eyes on their flourishing commerce and their cultivated and commodious life, they seem to me rather ancient nations grown to perfection through a long series of fortunate events and a train of successful industry, accumulating wealth in many centuries, than the colonies of yesterday, not so much *sent out*, as *thrown out*, a few years ago, on the bleak and barren shore of a desolate wilderness, thouands of miles from all civilized intercourse."

"Whatever England has been growing to" (again he says) "by a progressive increase of improvements brought in by civilizing settlements and civilizing conquests, and by varieties of people in 1700 years, you see so much added to America in a single life." In fact, Chatham was the first English minister who observed the wealth and resources of these possessions of the crown, and who foresaw their importance. He deemed Spain, Holland and France, successively the objects of his inimical policy, chiefly to be feared as *maritime* rivals of England, and to cripple the naval armaments of the two former Powers and to drive the latter from North America and the West Indies, were the bold, grand plans of action he urged upon a timorous cabinet. He correctly viewed the fisheries as a nursery of seamen, and therefore, with characteristic energy, prosecuted the war which secured to Great Britain Canada and the control of the adjacent islands, and jurisdiction over the New Foundland banks.

But during the whole period from 1660 to 1764, *taxation* formed no part of the Government scheme or the object of Parliamentary enactment. Directly to draw a revenue from the colonies was not intended nor declared. Though a commercial monopoly of increasing severty and (according to the present lights of Political Economy) of injurious effect, was imposed upon the Colonies, they exhibited neither resentment nor resistance. Ungracious and unjust as were the Navigation Act of 1660 and all its correlative laws, they were borne as the inevitable condition of metropolitan protection, and were compensated, as some colonial statesmen then argued, by a corresponding investment of English capital in America. Usage, rather than formal and advised assent to these commercial regulations, had made them to the colonists a law of their being, "which had grown with their growth and strengthened with their strength," and to whose compressive energy their expanding faculties and limbs had by daily practice become accommodated.

It may safely be concluded that the supremacy of Parliament—so far as the legislative power had ever been exercised—was admitted in all the Colonies, whether provincial, proprietary or chartered. England herself always maintained that Parliament had power to bind the Colonies in all cases whatever. But Parliament, whatever mitgh be the theoretical views of the Government, had never transcended her old and systematic course of commercial restriction. No necessity had arisen, no motive had been presented to the colonies (in which, however, an enlarged experience was creating gradually a juster appreciation of constitutional privilege and popular rights) to question or attack the foundation or extent of Parliamentary supremacy.

Massachusetts alone had looked adversely upon the interference of Parliament, even in the regulation of commerce, as far back as 1640; prior to the famous navigation acts of 1651 and 1660; and those acts were frequently evaded by the restless and ingenious spirit of the merchants of that colony. The addresses of her general court to the crown in 1757, 1761 and 1768 admit that "His Majesty's Parliament is the supreme Legislative power over the whole Empire" with a protest against taxation without consent of their own; a case not yet arisen and perhaps not even contemplated. Yet, in an address of 1679, almost a hundred years before the Declaration of Independence, Massachusetts averred "that she apprehended them, (the navigation acts before spoken of,) as an invasion of the rights and prop-

erties of the subjects of His Majesty in the Colony, they not being represented in Parliament; and that according to the usual saying of the learned in the law, the laws of England were bounded within the four seas and did not reach America."

This clause "they not being represented in Parliament," which seems here to be put forward merely as a suggestion, and not to have been urged as an argument, discloses the very ground upon which afterward, the laws of Parliament, imposing port duties and other taxes, were resisted, and which was, at a still later date, taken against all legislation of that body. It became subsequently, I say, the only basis of the dispute between the countries—the very "*cardo causæ*"—the hinge, upon which the whole controversy turned. It was the *hint* upon which, one hundred years afterward, the Colonists spoke, and spoke conclusively, against Parliamentary supremacy. And the student of History will mark and remember how the doctrine of representation—that a people can be bound only by laws of their own making, laws enacted by themselves personally or by deputed agents—was gradually educed, under the stimulative and suggestive necessities of latter days and other events, from this brief, perhaps accidental, (certainly not a matured or elaborated point) and doubtless then unappreciated suggestion of the Massachusetts General Court.

On the 10th day of March, 1764, the British House of Commons passed a resolution "That it was proper to charge certain stamp duties in the American Colonies and Plantations." The remonstrances of the resident agents of the Colonies, the opinions of the colonial assemblies and of an able and upright opposition being disregarded, Lord Grenville carried through Parliament in March 1765, an act, imposing a duty on stamped paper, "to be collected through the Colonies and there to be held in reserve to be used from time to time by the Parliament for the protection and defense of the said Colonies;" and stamped paper was made necessary to the validity of contracts and for certain other public and private uses.

The Stamp-Act, made inoperative by the concert of the people, was repealed in 1766. But the idea of raising a revenue from the colonies was not abandoned. In this year, a motion was made in the House of Commons that "the revenues arising and *to arise* from America be applied to subsisting the troops now there and the other regiments proposed to be sent." And Charles Townshend, supporting the motion, said "he had a plan to lay before the House to raise a revenue in America," and declared his conviction of the power of Parliament for that purpose; and he repeated this declaration, he said, that the Galleries might hear him, (Dr. Franklin, the agent of several colonies was sitting there,) and in all this Greeville coincided.

Large bodies of troops, under various pretenses, were quartered in Boston and other towns, and were regarded by the colonies as harbingers of some obnoxious law, whose execution they were to enforce. Referring to these warlike preparations "which covered the waters and darkened the lands," Patrick Henry asked, "What means this martial array but to force us to submission? Has Great Britain any enemy in this quarter of the world, to call for this accumulation of armies and navies? No, sir; she has none. They are meant for us; they can be meant for no other. They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us those chains which the British ministry have been so long forging."

In November 1767 by an act of Parliament certain duties were imposed upon glass, white and red lead, painters' colors, paper and tea, when introduced into American ports. Mr. Townshend advocated this act as a means of raising revenue in America, not in violation of the opinions and sentiments of the Colonies. The Stamp Act had been objected to in America, amongst other reasons, that it imposed internal duties or taxes, having no connection with nor arising from that commercial control always exercised by the mother country; and concurrently with submission to which, the Colonies had always indulged in a protest more or less emphatic against taxation in any form, upon any material or for any object. To render his own views plausible and to accommodate the sensitive notions of the Colonies, Mr. Townshend, in this Bill, provided for an *external* or *port duty;* thus, I say, invoking for the protection of his measure, the old and the general assent of the Colonies to merely commercial regulations.

Five of the duties laid by this Bill were subsequently repealed and the Tea Duty alone retained. Upon tea, imported into England there was a duty of *one shilling per pound.* The carriage of tea from the East into the British Empire was a monopoly, possessed by the great chartered India company. If their ships carried the tea directly into America, the duty upon that there landed was three pence per pound. Upon that in England, if exported to America, a drawback of nine pence a pound was allowed. This act of Parliament then actually cheapened an article of general consumption, and—upon the principle of argumentation, so far adopted by the colonies upon the subject of their political connection with the mother country and their constitutional liabilities and exemptions—it would be difficult to distinguish between the validity of this Revenue Act of 1767 and the Navigation Acts of Charles and Cromwell. If the mother country could prohibit all trade except with herself, might it not by parity of reasoning, derive a tribute from that very trade or any branch of it?

The preamble to this act reads as follows: "*Whereas*, it is expedient that a Revenue shall be raised in your Majesty's Dominion in America for making a more certain and adequate provision for defraying the charge of the administration of justice and support of Civil Government in such provinces where it shall be necessary, and toward further defraying the expenses of defending, protecting and securing the said dominions; Therefore, we, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, have resolved *to give* and *grant* unto your Majesty the several rights and duties hereinafter mentioned and do most humbly beseech your Majesty that it may be enacted," etc. Under this preamble, by virtue of the policy developed by it and the agitation occasioned by it, "so paltry a sum as three-pence in the eyes of a financier and so insignificant an article as tea in the eyes of a philosopher, shook the pillars of a commercial empire that circled the globe!"

All revenue laws, according to the precedents in English history, have a title by which they purport to be *grants*, and the words *give* and *grant* precede the enacting clauses. Through the reigns of William, Anne, Georges the 1st and 2d, no one of the laws passed respecting the Colonies are entitled as Revenue Acts; nor are the words "give and grant" in any preamble, with one exception, which I will notice in a moment. The distinctive phraseology of such enactments was speci-

[illegible] ORIGINATION

[illegible] Townshend desired [illegible] would excite no pro- [illegible] Colonies. To draw [illegible] he presented it and [illegible] commercial regulation, a duty laid [illegible] admitted *into* her ports: not a [illegible] a contribution to the revenues [illegible] and involving no sacrifice [illegible]

[illegible] This was the open door to [illegible] scrutiny, jealousy and attack. [illegible] a dangerous precedent. The men of [illegible] the modesty of the [illegible] of the claim was not [illegible]

[illegible] the character of the Parliamentary acts [illegible] was a statute bearing [illegible] H.s Majesty's sugar Colonies in [illegible] H.s Majesty," passed in 8th of George 2nd. [illegible] Colonies and assented to in a compromise, by [illegible] and in fact was a *commercial regulation*, and its peculiar [illegible] objected to at that time, when no jealousy of en- [illegible] discussion had excited scrutiny, and Governor [illegible] Massachusetts, himself great authority, had pronounced it an act of [illegible] of revenue.

Parliamentary debates in the House of Commons show that the little Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations demurred to the legality of this act. It presented a petition against it; but whether it complained of pecuniary or political injury arising from the proposed measure does not distinctly appear, and the champions of the chartered Colony, small in territory although large in renown, seem to have been speedily overcome by the sharp reprehension of the administration speakers.

Acts for revenue purposes avowedly, with the specific *title* and *recital* together, [illegible] until we reach the Port-duty Act, the Stamp Act and the Tea-duty Act of 1767. These had the revenue title, the technical words of *giving* and *granting*, and were formally and unequivocally revenue acts—American revenue acts—and the peculiar style of each stamped them as *inceptive* experiments, as commencing a boundless course of taxation.

"What one badge of liberty shall we have, (said one of the colonists); what one kind of slavery shall we be free from, if we are bound in our property and industry, all the *restraints* you can imagine on *commerce*, and at the same time are to be made *paid hacks* of every *tax* you choose to impose? Bearing the burthen of *unlimited monarchy* shall we bear the burthen of *unlimited taxation* too?

The investigations of the colonists, the discussions of a century had enucleated fully the *fundamental proposition*—the elemental law of political freedom—there

can be no *taxation* without *representation.* This was a postulate embodying the Saxon idea of liberty, consecrated by associations of past struggles, and reminiscences of ancient glory. Upon it fastened every impulse of feeling, every conviction of judgment.

The colonists, provoked to the examination, began to look closely into the subject. They inquired more searchingly into the foundation and reason of Parliamentary supremacy. Their minds passed, by an easy transition, to a denial, as we have seen, first of the power of taxation, (they not being represented in Parliament,) and then by a broader conclusion, to the denial of all power whatever in Parliament to bind them by its laws. In the outset they admitted and contended for a line of distinction; the one indicated by Chatham and Burke, between those cases in which they ought and those in which they ought *not* to yield obedience to Parliament. They became satisfied there was no such difference; no medium between the denial and acknowledgment of the power of Parliament, in *all* cases.

In 1773 Massachusetts claimed, in the broadest terms, unqualified independence of Parliament, and in a bold and decided tone repudiated its power of legislation over that Commonwealth. She denied the supremacy of Parliament, but acknowledged allegience to the Crown, and this distinction ultimately adopted by every lawyer in the Colonies, and upon which was drawn the Declaration of Independence, we will examine in another connection. Thus, you preceive that in the progress of this Contest of Principle, constituting the first stage of the Revolution, the argument against the Port-dutv Act, the Stamp Act, and the Tea-duty Act (all of one class,) that there could be *no taxation* of the Colonies without *representation,* was enlarged into the more comprehensive and constitutional one that there could be no legislation over the Colonies without *representation*; and this latter argument complete and conclusive, though first advanced in 1765 and 1767, took a relation backward and illustrated and characterized the whole controversy from 1651 to 1776; navigation acts and all.

"When you revived the scheme of taxation (says Mr. Burke,) and thereby filled the minds of the Colonists with apprehension and jealously, then they questioned all parts of your legislative power, and by the battery of such questions have shaken the solid structure of this Empire to its deepest foundations."

This protracted, widening and now embittered contest had reached in 1775 its full height, and the impossibility of compromise and reconciliation was evident to the Colonists; though even to 1776 some indulged the illusive hope of peace. In April, 1774, shortly after the destruction of the tea in Boston harbor, John Adams declared: "The body of the people are in *Council.* They are *united.* Unless the British Government shall return to principles of moderation and equity, soon will be brought to pass the separation and independence of the Colonies."

But the penal laws of Parliament, the Boston Port Bill, the Mandamus and Transportation acts designed to bring the rebellious Colonists to terms, and the actual conflict of arms at various places on the continent made necessary the Declaration of Independence, which was proclaimed July 4, 1776.

This declaration, setting forth the Colonial grievances in glowing colors, does not mention Parliament, but treats the acts of oppression then complained of as

acts of the King. Our view of the last phase of the Contest of Principle, which we have hurriedly sketched, will account for this peculiarity of diction. Doubtless the colonists were embarrassed by their previous concessions in the subject of Parliamentary Supremacy, and might be charged with inconsistency in maintaining their absolute independence of Parliament, where in the beginning they protested against her power to impose external duties or direct taxes only. But disclaiming, as they now did altogether, the authority of Parliament, binding themselves in the condition of Scotland or Ireland, before either of these Kingdoms lost its local legislature; they could not acknowledge any political tie binding them to the English Government in the aggregate, but a tie only of *allegiance* binding them to the King; recognizing thus the executive branch only of the Constitution of England; his established powers and vast undefined prerogative. This Allegiance had always been professed, proclaimed and preserved. The justifying causes of the Political Revolution now attempted—the severance of the tie of Allegiance—to be spread upon the record, were the acts of the King and the King only. He, indeed, is charged with confederating with others "in pretended acts of legislation," but he is held personally responsible for that misgovernment and oppression which were the necessity which "dissolves our separation."

According to the precedent of 1688, and the arguments of Somers and Jekyl and other great champions of liberty, the king is deemed to have abdicated his throne, having violated the compact between himself and the people and having thus remitted them to the original amplitude of their natural freedom. Though the necessity was inevitable, and this act was sanctioned by Constitutional Precedent and Historic Record, yet many truly honest and patriotic men hesitated to make that Declaration, which would forever sever the colonies from the grand old British Nationality. Even in the Continental Congress, brought into the immediate presence of the wrongs and grievances of the colonies, and who must have *imagined* the only efficient remedy for evils then only to be cured forever; standing as they did by a Rubicon, whose passage involved such vast issues, there was much hesitation, and plausible pleas were made for conciliation, compromise and maintenance of the ancient and honorable connection with the British Empire.

To move such to the final venture, came John Adams, with his wonderful directness and energy of speech. His burning words, partially rescued as they were uttered, from the oblivion of Time, and set forth in their original power by his sympathizing eulogist, aroused and carried the Congress to its momentous and magnificent final resolve. Listen to his appeals to his associates in that memorable Congress:

"The injustice of England has driven us to arms—and, blinded to her own interests for our good, she has obstinately persisted, till independence is now within our grasp. We have but to reach forth to it, and it is ours. Why then should we defer the declaration? * * If we postpone independence, do we mean to carry on, or to give up the war? Do we mean to submit to the measures of parliament, Boston port bill and all? Do we mean to submit, and consent that we, ourselves, shall be ground to powder, and our country and its rights trodden down in the dust? Do we intend to violate the most solemn obligation ever entered

into by men; that plighting, before God, of our sacred honor to Washington, when putting him forth to incur the dangers of war, as well as the political hazards of the times, we promised to adhere to him, in every extremity, with our fortunes and our lives? I know there is not a man here, who would not rather see a general conflagration sweep over the land, or an earthquake sink it, than one jot or tittle of that plighted faith fall to the ground. For myself, having, twelve months ago, in this place, moved you, that George Washington be appointed commander of the forces, raised or to be raised, for defence of American liberty, may my right hand forget her cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I hesitate or waver in the support I give him. If the war must go on, why put off the Declaration of Independence? That measure will strengthen us. It will give us character abroad. The nations will then treat with us, which they never can do while we acknowledge ourselves subjects, in arms against our sovereign. * * I know the people of these colonies, and I know that resistance to British aggression is deep and settled in their hearts, and cannot be eradicated. * * Instead of a long and bloody war for restoration of privileges, for redress of grievances, for chartered immunities, held under a British king, set before them the glorious object of entire independence, and it will breathe into them anew the breath of life. Read this declaration at the head of the army — every sword will be drawn from its scabbard, and the solemn vow uttered to maintain it, or to perish on the bed of honor. Publish it from the pulpit; religion will approve it, and the love of religious liberty will cling round it, resolved to stand with it, or fall with it. Send it to the public halls; proclaim it there; let them hear it, who heard the first roar of the enemy's cannon; let them see it, who saw their brothers and their sons fall on the field of Bunker Hill, and in the streets of Lexington and Concord, and the very walls will cry out in its support. * * Through the thick gloom of the present, I see the brightness of the future, as the sun in heaven. We shall make this a glorious, an immortal day. When we are in our graves, our children will honor it. They will celebrate it, with thanksgiving, with festivity, with bonfires and illuminations. On its annual return, they will shed tears, copious, gushing tears, not of subjection and slavery, not of agony and distress, but of exultation, of gratitude, and of joy."

And so that day shall be honored, illustrious prophet and patriot!

The review of the controversy between Great Britain and the North American Colonies—this exposition of the political doctrines, held with an enlarging comprehension of their truth and a widening application of their effect, enables us to recognize the patriotism, disinterestedness and sagacity of that generation. Adherence to principle, love of constitutional liberty, a resolve to maintain and retain it for posterity impelled them to resistance of British law, and the war of the Revolution. They understood the crisis; they saw in this attitude of things, an inevitable collision. They saw impending near the Great Result for which preparation—the preparation of a century, never remitted, though unnoted—had been made. Men had indeed rough-hewn as they would, but a Divinity had shaped this end. It was not the instant feeling and pressure of the arm of Despotism that roused our ancestors to combat. No intolerable oppression ground them to the dust. They were *not* slaves rising in desperation, from the agonies of the lash. They were *freemen*,

snuffing from afar the tainted gale of Tyranny. They could have paid the duties, all of them, increased a thousand fold, and not have felt them as they did a tithe of the expenses of the war. The worst encroachments of the British ministry were all compatible with their enjoyment of life. True, they would have held that enjoyment by a precarious tenure, dependence on a foreign power, at the fiat of a king, and of a Legislature in which they had no voice. But they spurned "inglorious ease." They realized that the burdens light to them would be grievous to and insupportable by their descendants. They accepted the sacrifice in their own persons. "Against the recital of an act of Parliament (says Mr. Webster) they took up arms. They went to war against a preamble. They fought seven years against a declaration. They poured out their blood and treasure like water, in opposition to an *assertion*, which those less sagacious and not so well schooled in the principles of civil liberty, would have regarded as barren phraseology or a mere parade of words. Upon a question of *principle*, and while yet actual suffering was afar off, they raised their flag against a power to which for purposes of foreign subjugation Rome, in the height of her glory, is not to be compared, a power which has dotted over the surface of the globe with her possessions and military posts; whose morning drum-beat, following the sun and keeping company with the hour, circles the earth daily with one continuous strain of the martial airs of England."

"The right to take ten pounds," thundered James Otis, "implies the right to take ten thousand. If this system be allowed, we shall be thankful that rain and dew are not dependent upon Parliament, otherwise *they* would be dried and taxed. You are lighting up a fire in these colonies the blood of all England cannot extinguish." But the official formality of Grenville, the brilliant sophistry of Townshend, and the lethargic amiability of Lord North were unmoved by appeals, unalarmed by appearances and untaught by experience. There was the blood-stained era of the First Stewart; there the tale of arbitrary taxation and its issue; the fiery rush of popular indignation: the *Mitre*, the *Mace*, and the *Sceptre;* the Prelate, the Premier and the King; Laud, Strafford and Charles himself laid upon the scaffold.

But this infatuated cabinet drew their rules and measures from the files. They heard a distant province was turbulent and resisted a law. What is the remedy? Send two regiments to Boston. A Provincial Congress, so called, meeting without a proclamation from Governor Gage, in fact, in disobedience to his prorogation, were taking counsels subversive of allegiance. The ministry were advised by the Crown-Lawyers, that it was the case of a refractory corporation; holding lands of the crown, in free and common socage, as of the royal manor of Greenwich, in the county of Kent; that a *mandamus* was the proper process, and, that failing, its franchise might be declared forfeited, and if necessary, abrogated by force! Miserable Pedantry! Fanatic Folly! Well did Edmund Burke in after years tell such technical functionaries, arguing that a dissolution of the House of Commons *abated* the prosecution of Warren Hastings instituted by it, before the Lords, that national complaint, that great indictment preferred by Civilization and Christianity against the Spoliator of empires, that they were no more competent to understand the operations of a government than a rabbit to comprehend the gestation of an elephant.

The frame-work of a corporation to hold compressed and inactive the com-

manding and expansive power of *Freedom!* the generous spirit of Liberty! Plant an acorn of the British oak in a flower-vase, and bid it remain ungerminated, as if it were not bound to strike its roots to central *earth!* to push its top to upmost *sky!* its green foliage opening in the sunlight! its mighty limbs defying the storm-wind!

The educated men of the Colonies generally had become very good constitutional lawyers, during the controversy we have examined. The liberties of the subject, the powers of Parliament, the prerogatives of the Crown—as established by the Magna Charta—the statute of Free Talliages, the Petition of Rights, the Habeas Corpus Act and the Act of Settlement, every step taken, every acquisition made by the civil revolution of England, they had diligently read and thoroughly understood. Of the Continental Congress meeting in Philadelphia, Lord Chatham admiringly said: "I have read Thucydides, Herodotus, and studied the Free States of antiquity, the master States of the world; and for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity and wisdom of conclusion, no body of men could stand in preference to that Congress."

And the planters of the South, the farmers of the Middle and Northern Colonies; in fact, all classes of city and country population, manifested the same intelligence; knowledge of their rights and of the legal mode of defending them. Sagacious and firm, they were forbearing; determined to keep to windward and to hold the ministry of Great Britain, and both their civil and military representatives in America, as unprovoked and unjustifiable aggressors.

They had resolved to furnish no occasion for violence, not to become the initiators of an attack; not to make the first assault. What is called the Boston Riot, occurring March 4, 1770, is a remarkable illustration of the way of thinking which had become familiar to Massachusetts men on such subjects. "Boston," says Josiah Quincy, "had been so galled without and vexed within by the injustice of the ministry and the insolence of the soldiery, that the people lost their habit of self-control." An affray occurred between some soldiers and some rope makers. The latter were worsted. They subsequently assaulted the soldiers, when on guard with ice and clubs, and were fired upon. Several of the crowd were killed. The people were persuaded to disperse. Though dissuaded from immediate retaliation, they were loud and frantic for the punishment of the soldiers. Captain Preston, who, after much provocation and to rescue his corps had given the order to fire, with several privates, was indicted for murder. John Adams and Josiah Quincy, then prominent agitators, and with the echos of whose indignant eloquence Faneuil Hall was daily ringing, were called upon to defend these respondents. They exhorted the jury to be deaf—deaf as adders—to the clamor of the populace. That jury, drawn from the county of Suffolk, acquitted Preston and the soldiers. The people, instead of resenting the conduct of these advocates, loaded them with additional proofs of their confidence and of honor. Edmund Burke, who, in the House of Commons, under the very shadow of the throne, advocated the cause of the Colonies, had analyzed the character and stated with philosophical explicitness the growth and influence of the untractable spirit of the Colonists. "In no country in the world," says he, "is the law so general a study. The profession itself is numerous and powerful; but all who read (and most do read) endeavor to obtain some smattering of the science. I have been told by an eminent bookseller that in no line of his business, after weeks of popular devotion, were so many sent to

the Colonies as on the law. Nearly as many of Blackstone's Commentaries have been sold in America as in England. General Gage's letters on your table show this disposition clearly." "*Abeunt studia in mores.* This study makes men litigious, inquisitive, full of resources, prompt in attack, ready in defense."

"To proceed according to law," was eminently the purpose and the ability of Massachusetts. After the battle of Concord, which occurred on Wednesday, April 19, 1775, the Provincial Congress, then in session at Watertown, adopted the following resolutions:

"*Ordered*, That Mr. Gerry, Col. Cushing and others, be a committee to take depositions, *in perpetuam*, from which a full account of the transactions of the troops under Gen. Gage in their route to and from Concord, on Wednesday last, may be collected to be sent to England by the first ship from Salem, and

"*Ordered*, That Dr. Benjamin Church, Mr. Gerry and Mr. Cushing be a committee to draw up a narrative of the massacre on Wednesday last."

It would seem as if Joseph Hawley of Northampton, was at this Congress. He was the oracle of the people. John Adams and James Otis were impetuous and eloquent, but Joe Hawley was a shower, more cautious, more technical and safer adviser. And through every town went the report of his opinions, and the tenor of his advice; and the people everywhere felt they could rely on the wisdom of his policy. From such a man came the suggestion to take these depositions, *de bene esse*. Get ready for your law suit, as good evidence is very useful therein. And Capt. Parker's deposition shows the peculiar Yankee characteristics of the people of that day, most strikingly:

"Lexington, April 25, 1775.

"I, John Parker, of lawful age and commander of the militia in Lexington, do testify and declare that on the 19th instant, in the morning, about one of the clock, being informed that there were a number of regular officers riding up and down the road, stopping and insulting people as they passed in the road, and also informed that a number of regular troops were on their march from Boston, in order to take the provincial stores at Concord, I ordered our militia to meet on the Common in said Lexington to consult what to do, and exhorted not to be discovered, nor insult any one, with said regular troops, if they should approach, unless they should insult or insult us, and upon their sudden approach, I immediately ordered our militia to disperse and not to fire. Immediately said troops made their appearance and huzzaing [illegible] us, fired upon and killed eight of our party, without receiving any provocation therefor from us.

JOHN PARKER.

Middlesex, ss. April 25, 1775.

The above named John Parker personally appeared, and after being sworn to the truth of what he has testified to the truth of the above deposition by him subscribed, before us,

[illegible]
Justices of the Peace."

Whatever John Parker might *guess* was the intent of the troops or be informed about their march, he had no right to interfere with them, until some overt act, some trespass or outrage should justify him. There was then no war—no belligerent rights existed—'twas the common highway, and the King's troops could march in it as others, and therefore he "concluded" (and the Yankee must have *reasoned out* that conclusion) "not to meddle nor make with the said regular troops, unless they should molest us."

The diligence and scrupulous exactness with which the inventory and appraisal of property destroyed on this occasion was prepared made it look as though the sufferers, in that respect, provided that Jemmy Otis or Major Hawley, or some other legal oracle of the colony (to whom they had fully and fairly stated the facts of their case) should so *advise*, intended to bring their action and present their Bill of Particulars against Captain Pitcairn or Col. Smith, the commanding British officers. Amongst others, one Hepzibeth Davis rendered her account of personal damages on this occasion:

	L.	S.	D.		L.	S.	D.
One pair of sheets	0	18	0	Three smocks	0	13	9
Three napkins	0	4	0	Two pair pillow cases	0	8	0
Two table cloths	0	4	0	Three aprons	0	6	0
Caps and other articles	2	8	0				

And over the mark of Hepzibeth, this account is certified to be computed "at the lowest rate that things can be bought for, at this day." The War of Independence, the second stage of the Revolution, we have no time to remark upon. It was a war which, considering the means we had and the enemy we encountered, it would be deemed madness to have commenced; and there were seasons, during its progress, when the great cause of America had perished but for the folly of the enemy—seasons when we were disbanding one army and in vain endeavoring to embody another within point blank shot of the enemy's *silent cannon*—when the dispirited host was without ammunition for an half hour's contest—when famished and almost naked soldiers must have submitted, however reluctantly, to the fate of captivity, had the providence of God permitted this result. But soon victories produced friends and allies in France, Spain and Holland, and Steuben came to drill our infantry, Pulaski to organize and discipline our cavalry; Kosciusko to erect forts and plan the intrenched lines which delayed the brilliant and boastful army of Burgoyne, till its banners were trailed in surrender; Montgomery with his fiery valor and LaFayette with chivalric sacrifice of rank and wealth; and in 1783, the Colonies of Great Britain were baptised into a national existence under the name of the United States of America.

But when the last great scene of the North American Revolution opened; when those who had Declared Independence on the 4th of July, 1776, and had maintained it, by the wise councils of the Continental Congress, the unfainting *negotiations* of Versailles and St. James, on the embattled cliffs of Abraham, the heaving sods of Bunker Hill, the blood-dyed waters of the Brandywine, the snows of Valley Forge, and the blazing lines of Saratoga and Yorktown, were called to the more arduous labors of constructing a Government, destined thereafter to present a model for all civilized people; to lay the foundations and rear the fairest structure of Constitutional Freedom that ever floated on the tide of time; they

approached the consummation of their immortal labors, and this was accomplished and the Federal Constitution, under which we now live, devised in wisdom and approved by trial, was the last crowning achievement of their lives on earth.

"Great were the hearts and strong the minds
Of those who framed in high debate,
The immortal League of Love, which binds
Our fair, *broad Empire*, State with State.

"And deep the gladness of that hour,
When, as the auspicious task was done:
In solemn trust the Sword of Power
Was given to Glory's unspoiled son."

The memory of the dead—the eloquent ruins of nations—the wrecks of ages admonish us. They adjure us not to darken or quench the lights thus kindled and now shining over the world! God grant that liberty—educated liberty and constitutional law, rescued from the prison-houses and scaffolds of Europe, may here forever maintain her rightful dominion! May the Star Spangled Banner, torn from "the perilous ridge of battle," stand planted on the Rock of Ages! May the American Eagle, the emblem of National Power, forever soar and circle on her pinions of Majesty, and in "her *Pride of Place!*"

And here I close. But, though too long detaining you, I must note, in a few words the wonderful contrast!

1776—Thirteen small colonies, situate mostly on the Atlantic coast, owning, or claiming to own a vast but undefined and uninhabited western territory—

* * * * "Continuous woods,
"Where rolls the Oregon, and hears no sound
"Save his own dashings:"

and a population of three millions.

1876—Thirty-eight States (for Colorado has just adopted a constitution, and thereby opens the way for her admission,) with a yet vaster western territory, rapidly being settled, and more than forty millions of people, prosperous, progressive and FREE!

We rejoice in this assurance of the perpetuity of the Republic! And to make this assurance doubly sure, note the simple yet sublime process by which and through which this great nation has just designated those who, for the next presidential term, shall represent and exercise its sovereignty! Four citizens of high capacity, of approved patriotism, an alternative choice, which can have no disastrous influence, but in any event, brings into power "good men and true." With such assurance, thus assured, let us gratefully and reverentially repeat the Thanksgiving prayer of our poet—

"God of our Fathers, from whose hand
The centuries drop, like grains of sand,
We meet to-day; united, Free!
And loyal to our land and Thee,
To thank Thee for the era done,
And trust Thee for the opening one.
* * * * * * * *

"Oh, make Thou us, through centuries long
In Peace secure, in Justice strong;
Around our gift of Freedom draw
The safeguard of Thy righteous Law!
And cast in some diviner mold
Let the *new* century outshine the *old!*"

The oration was listened to with marked attention by a large audience, who sat, some of them in the full rays of the sun, on plank benches, or stood in the shade of the speaker's stand and the surrounding trees. At its close the whole audience united with the glee club in singing the "Star Spangled Banner," which ended the exercises at the park.

THE DECORATIONS.

The speaker's stand was elegantly decorated with flags, red, white and blue drapery, evergreen wreaths and flowers, arranged under the direction of Mr. Richard Godfroy.

The first house erected in Grand Rapids, reproduced in fac simile by Mr. Godfroy, near the speaker's stand, was fourteen by sixteen feet in size, built entirely of logs, roofed with bark, with a stick chimney, and small windows of leather so tanned as to admit the light, and be almost transparent. On the outside was a framework used by Indian traders to hold furs for examination and barter, covered with furs of various kinds, a squirrel perched upon the roof, and a birch bark canoe was suspended over the door, which opened by an old-fashioned string latch. This building was visited and entered by over ten thousand people during the day, by actual count.

The principal feature of the decorations was the Centennial Arch on Campau Place (see frontspiece,) without doubt one of the finest ever erected on the continent, and unrivaled by any other city on this centennial day. It consumed about five miles in length of heavy cedar wreaths, on the lower side intermixed with strips of red, white and blue, to cover that portion of its surface not devoted to paintings and mottoes. The following description is condensed from The Daily Eagle of July 5th: It is 66 feet wide and 12 feet in thickness, rising thus to a height of 56 feet, a heavy cornice projecting at the height of ten feet above the spring of the arch. Surmounting this structure, and in its center, is a pedestal 22 by 5 and 4 feet in height. On this is erected a rectangular tower 12 feet in height, 9 by 6, flanked on each side by medallion frames half its height, from the four corners of which heavy wreaths rise to a central staff, forming a pointed turret, the summit of which is 84 feet above the pavement. On the north side, or facing up Canal street, at the top is the coat-of-arms of Michigan, painted on a canvas 8 by 12 feet in size—a fine piece of work. On either side of it are "Lexington" and

"Yorktown." Below the coat-of-arms is "Hallelujah for Our Hundred Years." On the base of the upper structure are "The Union and the Constitution;" "Supreme Law," "Unfettered Conscience," "Long Live the Republic." Just below are "Jefferson," "Franklin." Next are "1776" and "1876," with the names "Marion," "Sumter," "Wayne," and "Lee." On the keystone of the arch is "The People of Grand Rapids to their Country." On the left side of this face of the arch, in the panel over the side arch, is "The Declaration of American Independence the Baptismal Vow of a Republic born of Eternal Right, and for whom Heroes were Sponsors." Under this is an oil painting, 8 by 12 feet in size, of Washington crossing the Delaware; a beautiful and artistic scene. Beneath it is "Their Glorious Record is the Imperishable Heritage of the Forever." In the west panel of this face of the arch, at the top, is "On Every Sea and Every Land Known to Men the Sacred Honor of the Sires has been upheld by the Sons." Below this is a painting, 8 by 12 feet in size, representing Columbia standing in the foreground, on a high ledge, pointing over a vast and shadowy expanse, allegorically presenting the greatness and achievements of our country. In the background of the scene is the main building of the Exposition. Nearer is the National Capital and other public structures. Still nearer is a farmer reaping grain in a broad field with a reaper. Still nearer is a river with a steamboat, a suspension railroad bridge, a second railway track and a train of cars, and a telegraph line. All can understand what they represent. Beneath this beautiful oil painting is: "Of all Nations, and Peoples, and Tongues, she Gathers the Freemen who Bless her Centennial Birthday."

Suspended under the center of the arch is a fine painting of Washington on horse-back, ten by fourteen feet in size, under which the possession passed with uncovered heads. In the face of the structure fronting up Monroe street are the following: At the extreme top is a painting of Rogers' statue of Michigan, and the inscriptions, "God and My Right" and "Michigan." Immediately under is the motto on the upper base, "All Hail Columbia." This is flanked at either side with "Science and Religion," "The Mechanic Arts," "Agriculture and Commerce" and "The Forest and the Mine." Just below are the names "Washington," "Lincoln." Beneath them, over the center of the arch is "In God We Trust," which has become a National motto since it appears on the currency of the country. Below, flanking the keystone, is "1776" and "1876" and the names "Lafayette," "Steuben," "Putnam," "Stark." The keystone bears the motto "The Fidelity of the Sons is the Keystone." This is explained by the mottoes at the tops of the panels over the side arches, which are, "The Principles of the Fathers are the Foundation of the Arch of Freedom," and "The Progress of the Century is the Superstructure." In the left or western panel is an oil painting representing Washington at Valley Forge, uniform in size with those above mentioned. Beneath

this is "Their Heroic Devotion Inflamed the World and made Liberty the Watchword of Mankind." In the other panel is an allegorical painting in water colors, explained by the motto underneath "America supported by Justice and Strength receives Tribute, Affection and Confidence from her Children and Drives Discord and Fraud from her Domain."

The arch, together with all the paintings and mottoes upon it, was designed by Col. Joseph Penney. Its erection was the work of Mr. C. H. Gifford, architect and builder.

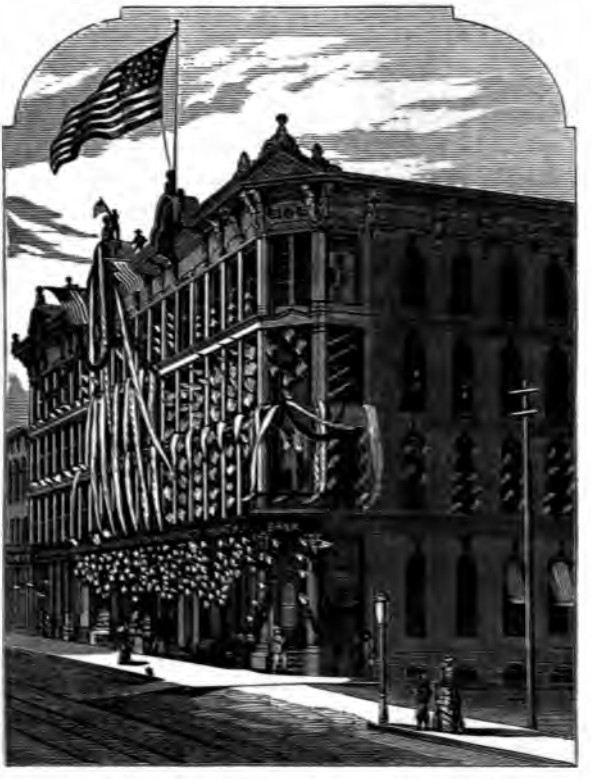
Light and graceful arches, covered with evergreens, were suspended across Monroe street between Ionia and Ottawa, across Canal near Bronson, and across West Bridge street at the corner of Scribner street, and also near Front street.

Col. E. S. Pierce's magnificent block, on Campau Place, its lofty clock tower surmounted by a tall staff, displaying one of the finest flags in the city, was finely decorated from the summit of the tower to the pavement with loopings of heavy cedar wreaths, thickly studded with small flags. Across the street, Sweet's hotel, one of the largest buildings in the city, bore four large flags on tall staffs, and displayed small flags from every window, the portico in front being finely decorated with evergreen wreaths. A very beautiful flag, was suspended from a staff extending over the sidewalk in front of the First National Bank.

Powers' Opera Block also bore a large flag, and was decorated with hundreds of feet of cedar wreaths, on which were hung Chinese lanterns that furnished a beautiful illumination at night. The City National Bank building was equally well decorated, and in front of the Nellis block, adjoining, hung a large bell formed of evergreens. Mr. Gilbert's building, containing Houseman & May's store, next to the Pierce block, also bore a fine flag and was largely decorated with festoons of evergreens and flags. Among other decorated buildings on Monroe street, were Avery & Avery's store, flags and cloth hangings; Borrendamme, Benjamins & Co., flags and hangings; John and William Kotvis' building, C. Burchard's store, A. Vandenberg's store, Mrs. Welch's store, Barney and Loomis' store, Chas. Hoffman's store, A. A. Hovey's store, and D. Tillotson's store.

The entire front of Spring & Company's store in Randall's block was nearly curtained from sight in a mass of brilliant flags and drapery, red, white and blue, and the roof also supported a large staff and flag. The Foster block, Foster, Stevens & Co's store. and J. Barth's store, was also resplendent in drapery in alternate folds of blue with white stars, plain red and plain white. Over the front door of the latter store was hung a large bell, which was frequently rung during the day, much more to the amusement of the passers-by than those nearer at hand. Leonard &

Son's store, S. D. Jackson's and Coldren, Wing & Co's stores, and the Rathbun House, were also finely decorated, the latter displaying a large flag. R. C. Luce's block, one of the first large blocks erected in the city, was all a flutter with small flags, and supported a large staff and fine piece of bunting.



ALDRICH-GODFREY-WHITE BLOCK, AS DECORATED, JULY 4TH.

The magnificent stone block owned by M. V. Aldrich, F. Godfrey & Bro. and Geo. H. White, corner of Monroe and Ottawa streets, was one of the finest decorated buildings in the city. The Grand Rapids & Indiana Railroad Company, Mr. Aldrich, L. W. Heath, Voigt, Herpolsheimer & Co., united in the decorations. Over the door of Mr. Heath's hat store was suspended a platform, on which stood a stuffed deer and black bear, very perfect and lifelike specimens. The front of the railroad offices was almost hid by flags, and broad strips of red, white and blue extended from Voigt, Herpolsheimer & Co.'s store to the top of the block, the first story front being trimmed with heavy evergreen wreaths, while every window

bore from six to ten flags. Above the center of the building was a large flag. The whole is well represented in the cut.

On the other side of Monroe, large flags were seen upon the Morton House, Wilson & Harvey's and Col. I. E. Messmore's block; and Patten & Hinsdale's, P. G. Woodward's, Ball & Baxter's and several other stores were largely decorated. In Ball & Baxter's windows were two figures, one representing a Continental in full uniform and the other an infantry soldier of the present day.

Worthy of notice, also, were A. Roberts & Son's store on Pearl street, and, on Canal street, Mills & Lacey's drug store, in the Mills & Clancy block, J. S. Crosby & Co's office and Bradford & Co's store. The Eagle building, on Lyon street, displayed a large flag and was hung with festoons of evergreens. On the other side of Canal street, Mr. Randall's building, containing Randall & Darragh's bank, was splendidly draped with red, white and blue. Further up the street, among others, were R. B. Loomis' and Ed. B. Dikeman's stores, the Berkey & Gay Furniture Co.'s building, and the Grand Rapids Edge Tool Works. The last three hoisting large flags.

Nelson, Matter & Co., decorated their factory, offices and salesrooms; the largest of the three flag staffs on the factory building being one of the tallest in the city, and all three supporting large flags, while hundreds of smaller flags were displayed from the windows and cornices

The decorations on the west side of the river were particularly noticeable. Among them were Berles' block, Scholl's block, Wm. Koch's store, J. M. Waltz's store, J. Whitworth & Co.'s store, Parmenter & Furman's store, the Miller block, by the owner, Mr. Samuel Miller, and the Odd-fellows, and Zinzer's block. Those displaying large flags were Franz Berles, John Scholl, Wm. Koch, the Amity Club, (the staff also bearing the monogram of the club in gold letters,) in Rose's block, Scribner Bros., Peter Weirich, Engine House No. 3, Powers & Walker's shop and St. Mary's church,

The private residences of Wilson Jones, Scribner street, S. C. Searles, and many others, also showed tasteful decorations.

Prominent among the residences that were decorated, on the east side of the river, were those of A. B. Turner, Dr. Geo. K. Johnson, O. R. Wilmarth, Gen. B. R. Pierce, W. I. Blakeley, Frederick Shriver, N. L. Avery, D. D. Hughes, L. H. Randall, J. L. Shaw, T. W. White, W. D. Roberts, S. S. Bailey, L. H. Withey, A. X. Cary, G. W. Allen, Mrs. Burnett, J. M. Kennedy, M. R. Bissell, W. P. Innes, P. V. Fox, Joseph Penney, M. E. Brown.

Mr. Adrian Yates, on South Division street, displayed as a trophy of the late

war a rebel flag, captured from a Texas regiment. The entire front of his house was decorated with much taste.

J. A. Smethurst, Lagrave street, had an original decoration in the shape of a windmill, made of flags.

Among the flags displayed by Gen. Pierce was one that had seen service with the old Third Regiment, Michigan Infantry,—every memento of which is dear to the people of Grand Rapids.

The brothers J. and L. Benjamins residing on opposite sides of Lagrave street, stretched a rope across the street on which were suspended several large flags of different nationalities.

So great in extent and diversified in character were the decorations that pervaded the 129 miles of street embraced within the city limits, that the most careful description by the most watchful reporter must necessarily leave many important features unnoticed. Hence the reader should remember that the buildings and decorations here mentioned are only given as samples of the grand display; and those citizens whose patriotic efforts are not here commemorated will please bear in mind the impossibility of gathering every detail of a celebration so short in duration and far reaching in its extent.

In the afternoon the principal item of amusement was the parade of the "Horribles," a revival of the old "crew" of 1861. Their procession evinced less coarseness and more originality than usually attend such performances. Their ambulance wagon, about two feet long and eighteen inches high, drawn by two full sized elephants from Forepaugh's circus, was a decided sensation.

The day closed with an extensive display of fireworks on the island opposite Summit Hill, which was witnessed by many thousand people from the hill, and from housetops in different parts of the city. This display was provided by Gray, Toynton & Fox, of Detroit, who in the settlement of their bill liberally deducted for all accidental failures and premature discharges, which are always inseperable from so large a collection of pyrotechnics.

Private displays of fireworks were quite numerous in all parts of the city, and continued to a late hour. Spring & Co. illuminated their store, the full flood of gaslight lighting the brilliant decorations with fine effect, and bringing into full relief one side of the grand arch. The bank building of Messrs. Randall & Darragh was also fully illuminated. Powers' Opera House, with its numerous gas jets and scores of magic lanterns, presented a beautiful appearance. In Mr. Ledyard's elegant block, on Ottawa street, Prof. C. G. Swensberg, proprietor of the Grand Rapids Business College, illuminated not only the entire front of his extensive college rooms, but the public library, Young Men's Christian Association rooms and the

greater portion of the block; turning on the gas jets inside and suspending a great number of Chinese lanterns from the windows.

The grand arch was kept lighted up for several hours by red lights burned by Messrs. Mills & Lacey in front of their drug store on Canal street. Its huge proportions looked indescribably weird in the lurid light, which revealed the mottoes and paintings with almost preternatural distinctness.

Thus, amid general rejoicing and satisfaction, closed the Centennial Celebration in the city of Grand Rapids, with nothing to mar its complete success. No disturbances, no accidents, no fires; nothing which could cause after regret on the part of citizens or visitors. Good order and good feeling universally prevailed from morning till night. All exchanged congratulations not only upon the glorious occasion of our celebration, but also upon the happy manner in which it was commemorated.

In closing, while it is impossible in this work to make special mention of all who contributed generously of time and means to the celebration, it is no more than just to speak of a few men to whom its success is largely due. Prominent among these are Col. Joseph Penney, chairman of the committee on order of exercises, and acting chairman of the committee on decorations, and Col. P. V. Fox, chairman of the finance committee. Both worked with uncommon energy, and placed themselves boldly in the breach whenever any doubts arose in the general committee.

The four panel paintings on the grand arch were executed by Sol. E. White, scenic artist, of this city, who patriotically donated half their value. The mottoes and sentiments on one side were painted by Mr. B. Morrison, and on the other by H. M. Goebel, more than two-thirds of their value being donated by each.

The equestrian painting of Washington, suspended in the arch, was executed by T. Ed. Wardus, of New York city, at that time engaged in frescoing St. James' church in Grand Rapids, and presented to the city. Thousands who admired its beauty and noted its finished appearance will learn with surprise the fact that it was begun and finished inside of twenty-four hours.

The evergreens were provided by Wm. N. Rowe, of the township of Walker, who, with remarkable energy, pushed to its consummation a difficult department in which failure would have been fatal. The committee are also indebted to Mr. L. D'Ooge for valuable assistance. Many mechanics contributed time and counsel, and a great credit is due to the enthusiasm and skill of Mr. C. H. Gifford, architect.

Finally, this grand demonstration, in which every citizen feels a just pride, was due principally to the many prominent citizens who subscribed and paid the

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1879.

FOURTH OF JULY

AT

AUBURN PRISON.

PROCEEDINGS,

AND

ADDRESS

OF

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

A GRATIFYING CELEBRATION FOR THE INMATES.

UTICA, N. Y.:
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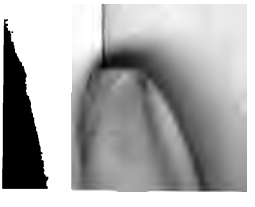

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PROCEEDINGS.

Governor Seymour arrived in town on Thursday afternoon, and by previous invitation of Agent and Warden Moses, visited the Prison as the guest of the latter gentleman, remaining until last evening, when he returned to Utica by the 6.38 train.

At nine o'clock, on the morning of the Fourth, the Chapel of the Prison was filled, the prisoners occupying their usual places, while the gallery and many seats below, were held by members of the families of officers and their friends, only a limited number of invitation cards being issued.

The platform was occupied by Governor Seymour, Agent and Warden Moses, Chaplain Searls, Rev. Dr. John Brainard of St. Peter's, Rev. T. Stacey of Wall Street M. E. Church, and Rev. W. H. Allbright of the Second Presbyterian Church. To the left of the platform was the full Forty-ninth Regiment Orchestra. The platform was handsomely and appropriately draped with National flags, over a portrait of Governor Seymour.

Previous to opening the exercises, the Chaplain addressed a few brief remarks to the men, requesting them to signify their approval only by the clapping of hands: an admonition which was strictly observed throughout. In fact, by their earnest attention and quiet demeanor, they earned the praise of officers and spectators. The remark was, that the occasion was the most orderly and quiet of any similar demonstration ever made in the Chapel.

The exercises opened with music by the orchestra, who gave some selections from the Opera "Pinafore" in their very best

style. The rendition was especially fine, and was deservedly received with a hearty round of applause, in which the entire audience joined.

Rev. Dr. Brainard read appropriate selections from Scripture, with the remark in preface, that he had an hour before read the same lessons to his own flock.

Music by the orchestra followed, the selections being given at good length and in the most artistic manner, in carrying out the plan of the day, as an especial treat to the prisoners, for whose benefit the exercises were presented. Their gratitude and satisfaction were earnestly expressed in the prolonged applause.

Rev. Mr. Stacey then offered an earnest and fervent prayer, the men showing by their respectful demeanor their appreciation of the solemnities, as well as they had of the enjoyments of the occasion.

More music followed, the orchestra giving "Sweet Home" with rare effect, the familiar strains of the air touching many a heart in the large assemblage of men whose homes are so widely cut off from their approaches by the frowning walls that bar them from the outer world.

Chaplain Searls then made a few remarks introductory of the distinguished speaker about to address the assemblage, in the course of which he made some facetious allusions which put his hearers into a state of smiling serenity. He alluded to the high public services and distinguished record of New York's eminent statesman, who was greeted with an enthusiastic reception as he took the desk. Governor Seymour then delivered his address.

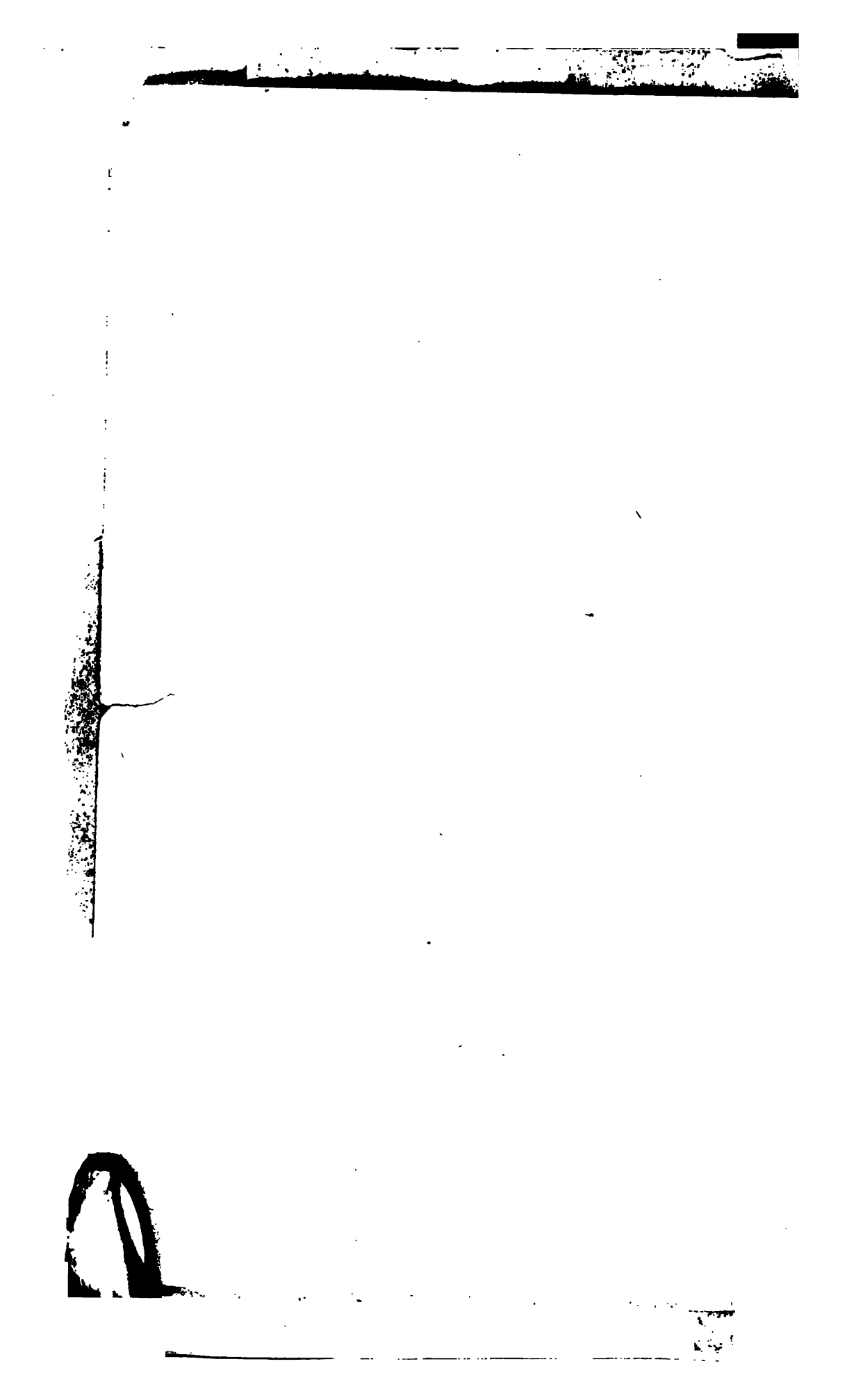
As may be inferred from the language of the speaker, his words sank deep into the hearts of his hearers, and in many instances drew tears of regret and repentant sympathy from those, who, although confined as criminals, yet have the feelings of men and are susceptible to the better influences when rightly approached. As a lasting lesson, and matter for reflection and good result, the address of the eloquent speaker will, no doubt, bear good fruit. That it sank deep into their hearts, was evinced by the frequent and prolonged applause, followed by a hushed attention which caught every word and inflection. Not even a cough or a shuffle of the foot was heard among all the

thousands and more men, and when, at the conclusion, Mr. Searls suggested that those who felt thankful to Governor Seymour for his interest in them, should express it by rising their hands, every man quickly thrust both hands above his head, with a prompt action that indicated an eager desire to show full appreciation of the Governor's kindness, in thus visiting them when in prison.

It was a most gratifying occasion and well repaid the time spent in thus making a pleasant day for the prisoners. We wish to add our thanks as a public journal, to those so expressly given by the participators in yesterday's exercises: for this good work in the cause of common humanity.

The audience dispersed, after Benediction by Rev. Mr. Albright. The orchestra continued playing afterward, for the benefit of the convicts, who showed their appreciation by hearty applause.

As Governor Seymour was escorted out of the chapel by the Agent and Warden, the men saluted them with prolonged clapping of hands, which compliment was also paid the Chaplain.



ADDRESS.

I have declined all invitations this year to make public addresses; but when your Warden asked me to speak to you to-day, I made up my mind to do so, although at the hazard of my health. My interest in the inmates of this and other prisons grows out of official duties, as I have had to act on many cases of applications for pardons. I have learned from a long experience with men in all conditions of life, that none are without faults and none without virtues. I have studied characters with care. I have had to deal with Presidents and with prisoners. I have associated with those held in high honor by the American people. On the other hand, the laws of our State have placed the lives of criminal men in my hands, and it has been my duty to decide if they should live or die. The period in which I took the most active part in public affairs was one of great excitement, when passions and prejudices were aroused; and in common with all others engaged in the controversies of the day, I have felt the bitterness of partisan strife; nevertheless experience has taught me to think kindly of my fellow men. The longer I live, the better I think of their hearts, and the less of their heads. Everywhere, from the President's mansion to the prisoner's cell, I have learned the wisdom of that prayer which begs that we may be delivered from temptation.

Another great truth is taught by experience: hope is the great reformer. We must instil this in men's minds, if we wish to cultivate their virtues, or enable them to overcome their vices. It has been said that despair is the unpardonable sin; for it paralyzes every sentiment that leads to virtue or happiness. To help

us do our duty, we must cherish hope, which gives us courage and charity, which gives us hopes for others. For this reason, when Governor of this State, I did all I could to gain the passage of laws which enable each one of you, by good conduct, to shorten the term of your imprisonment, and if I had my way, you would have a share in the profits of your labor. But I stand before you to-day to speak of another ground of hope, of a higher and more lasting character than mere gain or shortened terms of punishment; and what I have to say does not point to you alone, but to men of all conditions. I do not mean to take the place of those who teach you your religious duties. They are far more able than I am to make these clear to your minds; yet it is sometimes the case that we see things in lights in which they are not usually placed before us, and some thoughts which have occurred to me, in a review of my life, may be of interest and value to you. When we grow old we are struck with the fleetness of time; our lives seem to be compassed into one brief period; we suddenly find that pursuits we have followed are closed, and we are confronted with the question, not what we have gained, nor what positions we have held, but what we are in ourselves. We know it is our duty to do what is right, and to avoid doing wrong, but when we look back, if we add up all of our good deeds on the one hand, and our bad acts on the other, we find a startling balance against us. When men reach my time of life, their minds turn towards the past, and they travel backward the paths they have followed. They see things from the opposite side from which they were viewed in youth onward, and are struck by truths which never break upon their minds until they look back upon them.

Sitting before my fire on a winter evening, and musing, as old men are apt to do, about their acts, their errors, their successes or their failures, it occurred to me what I would do if I had the power, and was compelled to wipe out twenty acts of my life. At first, it seemed as if this was an easy thing to do. I had done more than twenty wrong things for which I had always felt regret, and was about to seize my imaginary sponge and rub them out at once, but I thought it best to move with care, to do as I had done to others, lay my character out upon the dissecting table, and trace all influences which had made or marred it. I found to my surprise, if there were any golden threads running

through it, they were wrought out by the regrets felt at wrongs; that these regrets had run through the course of my life, guiding my footsteps through all its intricacies and problems; and if I should obliterate all of these acts, to which these golden threads were attached, whose lengthening lines were woven into my very nature, I should destroy what little there was of virtue in my moral make-up. Then I learned that the wrong act, followed by the just regret, and by thoughtful caution to avoid like errors, made me a better man than I should have been if I had never fallen. In this, I found hope for myself and hope for others, and I tell you who sit before me, as I say to all in every condition, that if you will you can make yourselves better men than if you had never fallen into errors or crimes. A man's destiny does not turn upon the fact of his doing or not doing wrong—for all men will do it—but of how he bears himself, what he does and what he thinks, after the wrong act. It was well said by Confucius, that a man's character is decided, not by the number of times he falls, but by the number of times he lifts himself up. I do not know why evil is permitted in this world, but I do know that each one of us has the magical power to transmute it into good. Every one before me can, if he will, make his past errors sources of moral elevation. Is this not a grand thought, which should not only give us hope, but which should inspire us with firm purposes to exercise this power which makes us akin to the Almighty; for He has given it to us and has pointed out in His words how we shall use it. The problem meets us at every step. There is nothing we do which will not make us better or worse. I do not speak merely of great events, but of the thoughts upon our beds, the toil in the workshop, and the little duties which attend every hour. God, in his goodness, does not judge us so much by what we do; but when we have done things, right or wrong, our destiny mainly turns upon what we think and do after their occurrence. It is then we decide if they shall lift us up to a higher level, or bear us down to a lower grade of morals. Our acts mainly spring from impulses or accidents—the sudden temptation, imperfect knowledge or erring judgment. It is the after-thought that gives them their hue. The world may not see this; it may frown upon the deed and upon the man, who, nevertheless, by his regrets, makes it one which shall minister to purity and virtue in all his after-life. You, who sit before me, in some ways